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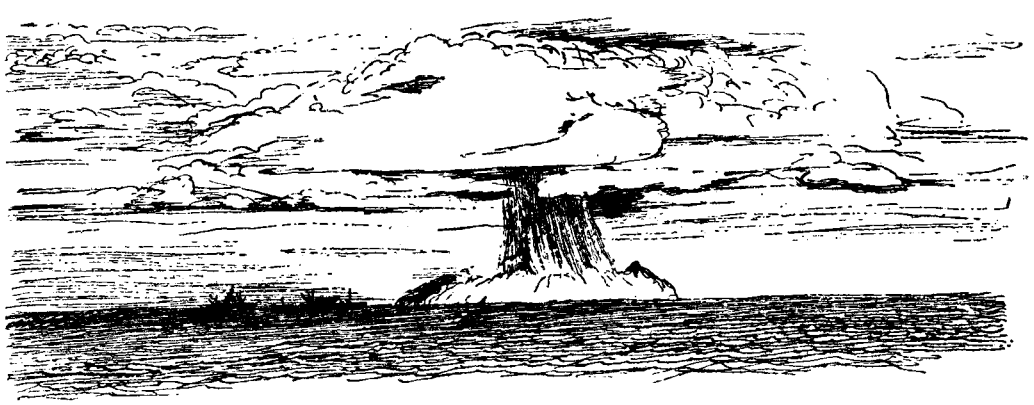
THE
Commonweal

The Arms Race and Christian Obligation



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For further information write to the address given for session in which you are interested.

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THE COMMONWEAL
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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The Bomb and the Individual

FUTURE AGES—if there are to be any future ages —will hardly believe it. Yet at precisely this glorious point in the development of Western civilization, when we have reached a level of education, knowledge and cultural refinement that makes even the world we grew up in seem crude and raw, when we are reaching out to the very stars, to the deepest secrets of the universe, when our religious and ethical thought has flowered into a maturity unhoped-for just a few decades ago, precisely now the nations and peoples of the world have accepted as normal a condition of life more brutal and irrational than anything man has tolerated in his entire, disaster-filled history.

We refer, obviously, to the balance of terror, as it has been called, the reliance by the Soviet Union and our own nation upon a strategy of threatened annihilation to untold millions of helpless and innocent men, women and children, with the threat kept from execution by the counter-threat of retaliatory murder of millions more equally helpless and innocent. The ordinary American is aware of this situation, and presumably he regrets it. But somehow he is in the face of it able to go about his daily tasks; to enrich his cultural life with books, theater, high-fidelity music and adult education courses; to pursue the pleasures of gracious living at backyard barbecues; to pick up his copy of *Time* with Karl Barth on the cover; to go to church on Sunday and listen to sermons about the excitement of the ecumenical movement.

As we said, it is almost beyond belief. First, there is the fact that the nuclear strategy to which we are committed—however reluctantly—cannot really be justified in any of the ethical systems that we say we believe in and teach to our children. The threat of massive retaliation is designed to deter attack and thus make massive retaliation unnecessary, we reason, and if there are problems in threatening retaliatory slaughter and determining to carry out the threat come what may, we can say that the problems are vague and will never really face us. But surely there is nothing vague or complicated about threatening to use nuclear weapons first, and this is exactly what we did during the Berlin crisis, and what NATO hints today, with little or no public comment.

The second factor making our present attitudes incredible is the overwhelming probability that a balance of terror strategy can in the long run end only in nuclear catastrophe. The multiplication of nuclear weapons and their deployment in more and more places—on, under and over the surface of the earth—makes the possibility of accidental nuclear warfare grow larger every day. The attainment of nuclear arms by other nations—an inevitability under present circumstances—is a danger we have apparently decided is too frightful even to think about. What answer has been given to C. P. Snow, who says that if the arms race continues at the present rate, nuclear holocaust becomes a statistical certainty?

The United States in the year 1962 reminds us all too often of the kingdom of Prince Prospero, in Edgar Allan Poe's "The Masque of the Red Death." Prospero and his friends, it will be remembered, retreated to a pleasure-palace which had been fortified against the plague of the Red Death outside and where they spent their days in gay and marvelous celebration. Finally, of course, it was discovered that the Red Death had been among the company all the time, and the end, naturally, was horror.

BUT WHAT is to be done? How can we escape the accidental nuclear disaster, or the deliberate use of nuclear weapons by "the enemy" or by the West—and which would be worse? How are we to save ourselves from the moral cancer which is now eating into our hearts as silently and cruelly as the

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strontium 90 makes its way into the bones of our children?

Obviously, as readers of this journal know, its editors do not believe that justice and peace can be achieved through any single, dazzling stroke of statesmanship. The problem we face is enormously complicated and enormously difficult. But we also believe that a first requisite in this as in any human dilemma is to assess the facts of the case realistically and, most of all, to accept the responsibility of acting in that dilemma.

Up to now, we have seen little inclination on the part of the American people to assume a share of responsibility in finding some way out of the horror that oppresses us. Yet on every count—as citizens in a democracy, as men, as Christians—responsibility pursues us. Morality and purpose trickle upward as well as downward, and it is as much the function of the people to lead their leaders as the other way round. What is first called for, then, is the taking up of the burden of responsibility for the evils of the nuclear arms race by every one of us, and particularly by those of us who proclaim ourselves men of God.

To that end, to the building up of knowledge and concern about the quandary we are in, if not the way out of it, we offer this special issue on "The Arms Race and the Christian Obligation." The articles which make it up make no pretense of giving all the answers we need, but they do, we think, ask some of the right questions. That is at least a first step.

Odd and Outrageous

AS PERENNIAL collectors of odd and outrageous statements, we often find our hands full these days. But there is always room for one or two more. This week's prize must go to Dr. J. Bruce Henriksen of Point Pleasant, New Jersey, who has managed both an odd and an outrageous statement. Dr. Henriksen, showing some old-fashioned initiative, was the originator of a petition, circulated to New Jersey doctors, calling for a physician's boycott of monies which would come from the provisions of the King-Anderson bill. Magnanimously, the petition called for treating indigent patients without charge if necessary.

The King-Anderson bill, calling for medical care for the aged under social security, is, of course, already under heavy fire from the A.M.A. But Dr. Henriksen wants to go the A.M.A. one better by making certain that, if passed, the bill's provisions will be ignored by the medical profession. At last count, he had managed to get the signatures of 200 doctors. What attracted them, perhaps, was Dr. Henriksen's description of the bill as "a step toward creeping socialism." That word "step," if our records are accurate, adds a new dimension to the "creeping socialism" rhetoric.

But if Dr. Henriksen's use of the word "step" is only odd, his description of the potential participants in the plan is outrageous. "Hospital beds," the doctor tells us," would be filled with old people who think it is nice to lie in bed and have their backs rubbed and their meals brought to them." As a result, "There won't be any room for really sick people."

Fortunately, the outcry in New Jersey against Dr. Henriksen's petition was sharp and immediate. Governor Richard J. Hughes called the doctor's plan a violation of the Hippocratic oath and one New Jersey assemblyman stated that he planned to introduce a bill to forestall it. Still more to the point, as Secretary Abraham A. Ribicoff quickly pointed out, is the fact that the bill does not call for payments directly to the doctors treating aged patients. We heartily agree with Mr. Ribicoff's opinion that, "It should be absolutely no concern to a physician where a patient gets the money with which to pay his hospital costs."

Poverty in America

RECENT FIGURES for unemployment, poverty and slum housing in this country raise certain doubts whether the people of the United States are as well off as is generally supposed. How did the impression of unalloyed prosperity first arise? Is it simply that in comparison with other countries America looks so good?

The surface manifestations of widespread American wealth are many. Annual sales of new cars, TV sets, air-conditioning units, washers, driers and deep freezers are undeniably impressive. The amounts we spend on cosmetics, cigarettes, beverages and all manner of recreation add up to a staggering total. And each year the average annual wage for factory workers reaches a new peak, although this figure appears better than it actually is when measured against family living costs.

Our land is known the world over for its costly leisure and conspicuous consumption. The Hollywood version of our *mores* and aspirations tends only to confirm the unparalleled dimensions of America's personal wealth. The two million tourists whose first contingents are beginning to depart will go provided with sufficient dollars in travelers checks or large enough letters of credit to sustain the munificent image.

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But there is more to the impression than the buying power of this nation's well-to-do. The United States has made genuine strides in income distribution in the past three decades. At the time of the Wall Street crash some seventy-five million Americans, representing fifty-five per cent of the population, were living in poverty on the basis of then-current living costs. By 1960 that number had been cut in half; it represents only twenty per cent of our growing population. This achievement, which in all honesty must be credited in great measure to war production and foreign aid, provides a much sounder reason for the worldwide conviction that America is so well off.

The hard thing is that this solid accomplishment still leaves out so many—some thirty-eight million of us. Moreover, the liberation of families and individuals from an economically depressed status slowed to a walk during the last decade. In fact, since 1953 there has been virtually no reduction in the number of American families living at fifty per cent below the poverty level nor in the four million single individuals below that level of existence. All this has coincided with the slowdown in national economic growth.

Automation, which provides one of the keys to economic expansion, presents one of the main problems. The Peabody Coal Company in Tennessee, for example, has a steam shovel twenty stories high which can scoop up two hundred tons of earth and rock in one crisp bite; only three men are needed to operate it. The latest estimates put job displacements by automation around a quarter-million a year, exclusive of office workers supplanted by computers. Plans to enable these breadwinners to shift to other gainful occupations are still inadequate. Moreover, projections and expectations of our national economic growth point to a rate of expansion that will continue to lag.

There is a real connection between the need for jobs and the unmet need for private goods and public services. As "Poverty and Deprivation in the U.S." (Conference on Economic Progress, 1001 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.) cogently puts it: "New technology makes persistent poverty intolerable by making it avoidable." Bringing together our productive capabilities and unmet needs is something America has yet to achieve or approximate.

The Texas Primaries

THE VICTORY of former Secretary of the Navy John B. Connally in the Texas Democratic gubernatorial primary was, come to think of it, not really much of a surprise. Given the present state of Texas politics, Mr. Connally appears to have almost perfect qualifications as a vote-getter. He is, for one thing, a Democrat but not a supporter of the "New Frontier." He has served under President Kennedy but is known to oppose some of the President's policies. He is widely regarded as Lyndon Johnson's choice for the Democratic nomination but has carefully, if not convincingly, disclaimed any special connection with Mr. Johnson. Finally, he has the backing of many important business interests without being identified with wealthy, right-wing businessmen. These combinations, in their ambiguity, would appear to be ideal.

Mr. Connally, however, must still reckon with Mr. Don Yarborough, whose image is unclouded and whose supporters are clearly identifiable. Mr. Yarborough, in something of an upset, defeated Governor Price Daniel to win second place in the primary. As a result, he and Mr. Connally will face one another in a run-off on June 2. While Mr. Yarborough's chances are probably not good, it is worth noting that an avowed liberal can still make a fight of it in Texas. To be sure, Mr. Yarborough draws most of his support from the East Texas area and depends very heavily on the Negro and Mexican-American vote. Yet it is a hopeful sign that minority group voters can make a considerable difference.

Whatever the outcome of the Connally-Yarborough run-off, it now appears very likely that the Republican primary winner, Mr. Jack Cox, will be able to offer unusually strong resistance to the Democratic candidate. Not only did Mr. Cox make an excellent showing in the Republican primary, he is certain to profit from the numerous and deep divisions among Texas Democrats. For many, Mr. Yarborough is far too liberal and Mr. Connally not conservative enough; the victory of either one is likely to send many Democrats to the Republican camp. Mr. Cox must be looking forward to that prospect with a certain amount of glee.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, Mr. Edwin A. Walker, who has no prospects, is probably preparing his next move. Despite the fact that he ran last in the Democratic primary, Mr. Walker no doubt derived some satisfaction from the surprisingly strong vote in his favor. As he explains it, "there was only so much time to educate the people." From our vantage point, he educated the people very rapidly in the Senate hearings on "muzzling." But then, considering that over 100,000 people cast their votes for the former Major General, some apparently are slow learners, if not altogether immune from education other than Mr. Walker's own weird brand.

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Return of the Captives

PERHAPS there have been sadder pictures published in recent weeks than those of the return of the sixty prisoners from Castro's prisons. If so, I did not see them.

These sixty men, the worst of the wounded and ill, are a token of the plight of the eleven hundred-plus left behind in Havana as hostages. The price for their release was two and a half million dollars—not all of it paid yet, either—and Castro's price tag for the remainder comes to sixty-two million. As for the captives themselves, they are united in their determination that all will be released or none. In as bad a shape as they are, all of the sixty released say they will return to their prison camp unless release can also be won for all their comrades in arms.

What Castro is attempting, of course, is the crudest kind of traffic in human flesh. Many adjectives have been used to describe his conduct; I agree with most of them, and I find it hard to believe that his conduct will not hurt him badly in Latin America, even among the most zealous *Fidelistas*. But the question remains: should we give Castro what he wants?

For an historical precedent I suppose one would have to go back to the days of the Crusades, when ransoming Christian captives from the hands of non-believers was not so unusual. But citing even this precedent is not too much help. The problem is not that modern statesmen are insensitive to human suffering; their position is that they just don't want to contribute to it unnecessarily. Pay blackmail to people like Castro, they say, and every small-time and would-be dictator will go in the business of capturing hostages and holding them for ransom.

For my part, even in normal times I find it hard to believe that governments or individuals can go very far wrong with the works of mercy, despite the argument that one should not encourage evil men by making their crimes pay off. But in the matter of Castro's captives the whole argument is quite irrelevant, for this case is clearly *sui generis*—or so, at least, it seems to me.

The policy of our government is to bring economic pressure to bear on Castro's regime, in the hope that it will help to knock him down. Sixty-two million dollars, the ransom sum demanded, is not a lot of money by governmental standards, but Cuba is a small country, and there is no doubt that this amount paid in U.S. dollars would help Castro, at least to a certain extent.

It is this fact, I gather, plus a reluctance to encourage others to follow Castro's example, that is determining U.S. policy in this matter. The government permitted representatives of the Cuban refugee committee to go to Cuba to bargain with Castro, and it has done nothing to oppose the raising of the ransom money. Officially, however, it seems to be following a hands-off policy in the matter of the ransom payment.

The same attitude is apparently widespread among rank-and-file citizens, and it is reported to be hampering the efforts of the relief committee to raise the money needed. Everyone feels sympathy for the captives, but no one wants to help Castro with money. Unless something changes soon, the thirty-year sentences meted out to the prisoners are likely to become tragic reality.

I think something should change. I think each of us should do what he can, and I see no justification for our government to act as if it had nothing to do with any of this. For this is the crux of the matter: we *are* involved and we have been from the very beginning. To wash our hands of the matter now would be the cruellest kind of blow to the Cuban captives.

This is war, people say, and we have to be tough-minded, realistic and practical about these matters. Just imagine the propaganda victory for Castro, they argue, if he makes the United States pay the ransom money. Well, if we are going to be tough-minded and practical, it seems to me we had better start thinking about the effect on Latin American public opinion if the United States lets eleven hundred Cubans rot in Castro's jail for lack of sixty-two million dollars. That would be a real Castro victory.

Much about the ill-fated invasion of the Bay of Pigs remains unknown. How much of the planning was done in the Eisenhower Administration? What exactly was the role of the C.I.A.? Did Candidate Kennedy know the invasion was in the offing? Was air cover first promised and then withdrawn?

To these and a multitude of other detailed questions we have no firm answers. Perhaps we never will. But no one denies that the ill-conceived, badly planned and miserably executed affair was launched from friendly shores with the official help of various U.S. agencies. I don't see how we can now close our eyes and pretend we had nothing to do with the whole affair.

As matters stand, we found the Cuban game one that was not to our liking; now we want to pick up our marbles and go home. Normally such an attitude might be justified, but this is not really a game and in any case it is not over yet. As far as I am concerned, it won't be over while any of the eleven hundred are still in Castro's prison, and I don't see how the Administration can call it quits either.

JAMES O'GARA

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Peace, Justice and the Christian Commitment

THREE MONTHS ago in these pages we were privileged to publish an article by Thomas Merton entitled "Nuclear War and Christian Responsibility" (Feb. 9). In his article he said that "There is no need to insist that in a world where another Hitler is very possible the mere existence of nuclear weapons constitutes the most tragic and serious problem that the human race has ever had to contend with."

The editors of The Commonweal share Thomas Merton's conviction. Now, with the resumption of nuclear testing by the United States, we are again confronted with the inescapable fact that the nuclear arms race continues unabated. Yet despite the overwhelming evidence that the great powers of the earth rely upon nuclear weapons as their main line of defense, it seems all too clear that the great mass of Christians have given scandalously little thought to the moral implications of nuclear weapons—as little as they gave to the implications of Nazism.

What, to be precise, are these moral implications? The editors of The Commonweal make no pretense of moral omniscience. Like many others, we find ourselves in the position of attempting to reconcile seemingly irreconcilable moral principles. We believe neither in pacifism nor in preventive warfare; we believe there can be no genuine peace without justice yet hold that a total nuclear holocaust would guarantee neither peace nor justice; we believe in the rights of legitimate self-defense but not to the extent of condoning massive annihilation.

Nevertheless, we believe that the existence of these moral dilemmas ought not to paralyze discussion. In the articles which follow these dilemmas are discussed. We share with the authors their sense of urgency about the problems: the morality of testing, nuclear warfare and the role of personal responsibility in modern society.

In particular, we would call attention to the dilemma William J. Nagle notes: "the moral problem of nuclear weapons *and* the demands in justice to stop the advance of Communism." This dual moral problem is one which runs throughout recent papal statements—as a glance at some of the statements we have presented in the pages to follow will show. We believe this is a dilemma which has by no means been resolved; and that every one of us must come to grips with it. —THE EDITORS

The Great Dilemma

Catholics and the Arms Race

JUSTUS GEORGE LAWLER

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE not to feel a certain pathos on reading the last letters of Teilhard de Chardin, written at the time of the announcement of the International Geophysical Year of 1957. Teilhard was impressed by the fact that Russia would collaborate in the scientific undertaking with forty other nations, and he viewed the geophysical year as "the year one of the Noösphere," as the first concrete sign of the spiritual unification of man. One is touched by the irony of the prophecy when one considers his letters in the framework of the present accelerating conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. For it is not clear at the present time whether we are moving towards the dawn of the Noösphere, or whether instead we may have taken the first step towards Armageddon.

However, it is possible that the two realities, the resumption of tests and the spiritualization of the race, are closely related, and that the growing realization that we are faced with an unimaginable and utterly incomprehensible fate may drive man towards the unifying of all peoples on this bruised planet. Compelled by the fear of extinction, we may be facing the most dramatic evolutionary leap in the story of man: a propulsion in which, as Teilhard said of the geophysical year, "For the first time in many billions of years, a unanimous deed, unanimously oriented, shall occur throughout the dimensions of the earth." Whatever natural humanistic goals, whatever purely temporal fears, may motivate a large part of mankind, for the Christian it will be, in the words of St. Paul, the charity of Christ that must urge us to this breakthrough.

The present crisis of mankind, the crisis now focused clearly in the renewal of nuclear testing, is essentially a personal and moral crisis. It is a crisis that cannot be blinked away in the name of lay ignorance, that cannot be avoided on the assumption that our leaders will choose rightly for us, that cannot be left in the hands

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of technicians or manipulators of strategy. The crisis is spiritual and transcends all method, all technique, all recipe. It demands that every man examine in his deepest interiority the awesome being and non-being which faces him. And it demands a choice.

THE GENERAL feeling in our society, when it has not been purely apathetic, is that these issues are so specialized and refined that the layman's judgment is necessarily impaired, and that he must rely almost entirely on the experts. Unfortunately, it has been precisely this reliance on the experts which has brought us to the present dead-end; and it has been the general failure to cultivate a conscious moral consensus within the community, antecedent to the creation of new and successively more monstrous weapon systems, which has permitted their very development.

Robert Batchelder in *The Irreversible Decision* has shown how few Catholics (with notable exceptions, such as Father John C. Ford, The Commonweal, and *The Catholic Worker*) spoke out against the obliteration bombing in the last war. It seems not improbable that the result of this silence was that when the judgment was being reached both as to the use of the atom bomb, and to the type of target to be selected, there was no widespread moral attitude within the mass of the population on which the leaders could rely in coming to their decision.

The Catholic community has often been characterized as monolithic. If such a description is accurate, this need not work to the disadvantage of the nation as a whole because a strong public opinion may be engendered more rapidly and effectively when the points of contact and communication are already in effect. The danger of monolithic action is not so much in its organizational power as in its support of the wrong goals.

Had the bishops collectively spoken out against obliteration bombing and awakened the Catholic conscience, there is reason to believe that the choice of targets for the bomb might have been amended, and one or two of the other possible alternatives selected. Regrettably, the bishops did not speak out, and even after the destruction of Hiroshima the Vatican felt called upon to deny that there had been any official condemnation of the bombing.

It is the community as a whole that must establish the moral ambiance for practical decisions, and it is the duty of the non-specialized student, of the non-professional and uncommitted open mind to articulate this common climate of opinion. One wonders what cause was served recently by private observers and commentators refusing to take a stand on the renewal of testing in the atmosphere, when a judgment from them would have had the advantage of being free of the partisan and probably self-seeking views of that industrial-military complex President Eisenhower warned the nation about.

Why should anyone imagine that Congressman Holifield or Senator Goldwater is any more qualified to pronounce on this matter than Erich Fromm or David Riesman? In fact, the enlightened layman has the immense advantage that he can see these things in perspective because he is so removed from those inter-service, inter-industry, and inter-party rivalries that may prejudice the specialists.

Strangely enough, the specialists themselves have been quite willing to step out of their technicians' role and to make statements on the larger political and social issues. Thus Dr. Teller has advocated programs which are exorbitantly beyond his competence as a physicist, and Dr. Kahn in his *summa demonica*, *On Thermonuclear War*, delivers a great number of broad judgments in the field of social psychology which his own training would not warrant. We are faced with the paradox that the specialists have been very eager to extend their ministry into the general moral sphere, while the liberally trained moralist, such as Walter Lippmann, has refused to relate his public philosophy to the specific issues of renewing the arms race.

But if the ethos of a society as it lies latent in the consciousness of the mass of the population is not made explicit, then there is nothing to prevent the gradual evolution of our political life into an oligarchy of the experts. And these experts can often be purchased by any wealthy research organization, and either through an honest but exclusive preoccupation with their specialty, or through their participation in the glamorous power of the industrial and military giants, they can be induced to arrive at the views of their employers. There is nothing unreasonable in Harrison Brown's prophecy that if we continue our present arms expansion we may encounter in the future the possibility of a military *coup d'état*.

THIS IS not the place to review the constant flood of writings from the best minds in the nation on the dangers facing us, nor to repeat the much needed warnings that we must not become calloused to the frightfulness of our "defense" program, or so mesmerized by our own propaganda that we ignore the hecatomb we are all responsible for preparing. Nor is it necessary to limit

> How is it possible . . . that, while every individual feels within himself an urgent sense of moral responsibility for his own most ordinary acts, the dreadful fact of war, which is also the fruit of the free act of somebody's will, can evade the dominion of conscience, and that there be no judge to whom its innocent victims may have recourse?—Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message* (1954)

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our choices to "red or dead," since these are not the real alternatives, and since death in its current context has no national meaning and therefore no heroic stature. The editors of *National Review* or spokesmen like Senator Tower must, unfortunately, be regarded as voices from the days of Sergeant York or Baron von Richthofen. These proponents of absolute victory, like Professor Hook, have ignored the fact that we are not faced with the choice of dying to preserve "Western values"; we are faced with the choice of killing in order to preserve them, and by that act destroying not only the "enemy," but ourselves and the alleged values as well.

The question of values in this connection is largely irrelevant. We happen to be engaged in one of the perennial power struggles of history, a struggle with a nation which in its polity is gradually coming to resemble more and more our own.

Russia is emerging from the tyranny of a blind despotism to a state-dominated capitalist society which is inevitably going to respond more and more to the needs of its citizenry: needs which are universal and which have nothing to do with Marxism or with capitalism. On the other hand, the fact that over one-fifth of our own Gross National Product is government-controlled indicates that we are moving under the impetus of these same universal human necessities towards those adjustments in our own economy which have been derided as signs of creeping socialism. Russia, being the more immature society, and having only recently come to an awareness of its national identity, and therefore being more susceptible to domination by power-hungry leaders, is experiencing the predictable nationalist urge for imperialist expansion, and for this the Marxist evangel is primarily a pretext.

The assumption behind the "red or dead" question is that Communism and democracy are both mere theories. We simply have no faith in democracy and in what are mistakenly called "Western values" if we believe that their compulsory suppression by a band of dialecticians could destroy them. But democracy is not a theory; it is implicit in the nature of man, and therefore it must ultimately prevail. And whether or not it suffers a setback is a minor issue if the alternative to a temporary reversal is the annihilation of the race.

Certainly it is better to live in a "red" society and have the opportunity to personally act for the inevitable humanizing of it, than simply to be incinerated. But these are not the only choices before us.

WHAT IS needed is not the reduction of extremely complex questions to simple either-or answers, but practical suggestions which will aid in eliciting public opinion favorable to mutual, controlled disarmament. There are uniquely great opportunities now because disarmament is no longer viewed as the goal of cranks or extremists or absolute pacifists. And if public opinion can be aroused over the importance of disarmament as effectively as it was over the organization of the United Nations, as Louis B. Sohn of Harvard has already suggested, then there is hope that we may approach the vision of Teilhard de Chardin. If it cannot be aroused, we shall continue the present race to see which nation will be first at the mouth of the volcano. There is a multiplicity of possible programs, but those which are sketched here are offered with a view to bringing about a Catholic response to this issue.

> Communism . . . is a system full of errors and sophisms. It is in opposition both to reason and to Divine Revelation. It subverts the social order, because it means the destruction of its foundations; because it ignores the true origin and purpose of the state; because it denies the rights, dignity and liberty of human personality.—Pope Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris* (1937)

First, if the question is a moral one, we must hear from the bishops. We should never be in the position of thinking with Newman that we counted on the bishops and they failed us. If, as I have already suggested, Catholic opinion had been mobilized against obliteration bombing in the last war, or if at least the authorized teachers of the Church had spoken out against it, then possibly the decision to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki might never have been made. Therefore we must hear from the bishops before the present tentative choices become hardened into irrevocable policies.

That it took the hierarchy four years after the Supreme Court decision to speak out on segregation does not augur well for any statement in the near future on the arms race: but these are changing times and hope remains a Christian virtue. For example, one would like to know what Christian ethical principles are being jeopardized in a world where poverty and misery are rampant, and in which more than four hundred billion dollars are expended on armaments and only ten billion on economic and technological aid to destitute peoples. This is a question that has nothing to do with the power struggle, and should be answered purely for the clarification of doctrine. One is not impressed with the statements of certain Central American bishops that social reform is an urgent necessity if the onslaught of Communism is to be staved off: the reforms ought to be dictated by the imperatives of Christian morality.

What is the moral implication of testing in the atmosphere with its possible genetic deformation of generations to come? Suppose the Soviets begin testing as soon as our series is concluded, as Khrushchev has already foretold; will we again test, and to what lengths can we morally go in continuing to pollute the atmosphere?

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Furthermore, one would like to know the moral principles involved in the consignment of man's own fate to extremely complicated mechanical devices, which, as they become more and more complicated, are more prone to misinterpret information and thus to ignite an "accidental war." Dr. Herman Kahn, writing in 1960, observed that the probability of accident in 1961 would be much lower "than it may be in later years, partly because as I have already mentioned the buttons will not normally be kept connected and partly because there just will not be very many of them." What will be our moral responsibility when the buttons are "connected" and when there are "very many of them"? Again, the question is to what extreme are we able to go towards increasing the probability of an accident, and thus, in effect towards submitting our free judgment to technical instruments—instruments which the creator of cybernetics, Norbert Wiener, believes have been constructed "to avoid responsibility in order to avoid the feeling of guilt."

Finally, one would like to see a clarification of the morality of the kind of war we are preparing to fight—of, for example, the notion of holding an "enemy" as hostage in his own cities under the threat of extinction, and of the attendant repudiation of the classic moral doctrine that noncombatants can not be the object of direct attack. This is hardly an academic question since a large element of the military establishment, particularly in the army and navy, has already espoused this tactic; and since by definition a threat must carry with it the possibility of its execution, it has to be assumed that there are many defenders of "Western values" who see no contradiction of their ideals in annihilating the civilian population opposing them.

THESE are casuistic questions, and no one expects the bishops to have simple answers. Indeed, there can be no simple answers, and it is precisely the simplicity with which Dr. Kahn has affirmed the "reasonableness" of our presumed attackers and the continuing "reasonableness" of our own defenders that has made his conclusions so unbelievable. But there can at least be offered to the Catholic community as a whole certain guiding principles and norms of Christian conduct.

> In the beginning Communism showed itself for what it was in all its perversity; but very soon it realized that it was thus alienating the people . . . Thus, aware of the universal desire for peace, the leaders of Communism pretend to be the most zealous promoters and propagandists in the movement for world amity. Yet at the same time they stir up a class-warfare which causes rivers of blood to flow, and, realizing that their system offers no internal guarantee of peace, they have recourse to unlimited armaments.—Pope Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris* (1937)

> Every war brings upheaval and destruction to persons, regions and the entire world. What could happen especially now with the frightful effects of new weapons and destruction and ruin which human ingenuity continues to multiply to everyone's loss? . . . What should be said of the modern implements of war derived from the secrets of nature and capable of unleashing unheard of energy to wreak havoc and destruction?—Pope John XXIII, Address to World Leaders (1961)

To a great extent these norms will be what we have heard already from individual theologians, but they would assume a new authority by being defined by the episcopate; and they would provide the stimulus for a complete examination of the entire arms-race psychology. We are faced either with the view that something can be done, that the cause of disarmament does make sense, that it can be fostered effectively by an enlightened public opinion, or with the view, espoused even by such distinguished students as Hannah Arendt, that it is all futile, that we are at the mercy of uncontrollable forces, that we must prepare to be the burnt offering in history's last holocaust.

On the practical level it is to be expected that the episcopal directives would result in a tremendous exertion throughout the entire Catholic community to shake off the lethargy of the past decade and to cope intelligently with the moral consequences of the arms race. One would expect to see this become the central topic for meetings of all religious organizations, sodalities, confraternities, councils of Catholic men and women, Catholic action cells, high school and college discussion groups, etc. One might add here that the injunction, "Pray for Peace" ought to assume a more effective role than merely that of cancelling postage stamps. It would not be surprising, then, to see the efforts of the Catholic Association for International Peace fostered on the parochial level, to hear books such as Arthur I. Waskow's *The Limits of Defense* discussed from the pulpit, or to find the subject of disarmament aired in the diocesan press and become the object of as much concern there as, say, the banning of Henry Miller's books from the local library.

One of the most significant developments within the Catholic community in recent years has been the alliance of the work of the Catholic Interracial Council and the Third Order of St. Francis. Integration is the major national moral issue just as disarmament is the major international one. In the merging of the activities of the Third Order and the C.I.C. one recognizes a truly creative approach to the problem of racial justice. The bishops' statement on segregation, tardy as it may have

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been, set in motion the forces that resulted in a revolutionary practical step, a step which if it had been advocated a decade before would have appeared as radical as the most utopian of schemes. It is difficult to imagine the consequences both on Catholics and on the nation as a whole if, for example, the Knights of Columbus, along with a host of other organizations, were to take up as a prime objective the cause of controlled disarmament.

Finally, it is to be hoped that one or two of our major universities would sponsor a group of scholars dedicated to exploring schemes for a workable disarmament plan. It is universally acknowledged that mere talk about the need for disarmament is not enough; there must be specific proposals made, and there must be generated a climate in which these proposals can be given a hearing. In the past many of the research institutes for examining these questions have been sponsored by parties that had a financial interest in continuing the manufacture of munitions. This may be understandable —though not necessarily forgivable—in a pluralist society; since this is primarily a moral issue, however, such investigative groups must also be sponsored by religious organizations which can guarantee them freedom and financial independence.

THERE is no impertinence in requesting clarification of these issues from the episcopate nor in requesting that they take the lead in executing various ameliorative programs. It is, on the contrary, a positive duty to request this enlightenment and this leadership.

One of the great moral theologians of the twentieth century, Werner Schoellgen, has explained the indifference of some German bishops to the monstrousness of Hitler's regime by the laity's failure to inform them of it. "The laity failed to carry out their informative duties because they looked to spiritual 'leaders' on whom they could place all the burden of responsibility."

The present suggestions are not indicative of an attempt to abdicate responsibility but to inform the episcopate of certain matters facing the body of the faithful, and to request some guidance from them. The alleged monolithic structure will only begin to move if it is guided by the bishops, and it may then be recognozed as nothing more than the one bark of Peter moving through history.

The Great Silence

Where Are the Theologians?

WILLIAM J. NAGLE

THE UNITED STATES is once again testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. Russia ended the three-year moratorium in September, 1961, with an extensive new test series. The failure of the two nations to negotiate a test ban treaty in Geneva and the beginning of Operation Dominic in the Pacific mean that the nuclear arms race is clearly underway once again.

In the seventeen years since Hiroshima, it was frequently said that weapons technology had outstripped moral theorizing, that moralists had to "catch up" with scientists and military strategists. Since November, 1958, when both Russia and the United States declared a test moratorium, the arms race—at least the development of nuclear weapons, if not the development of delivery systems—did in fact slow up. Unfortunately, there is little evidence that theologians or anyone else used the three-year period to "catch up" on moral thinking about nuclear weapons.

The publication two years ago of a symposium by American Catholics, entitled *Morality and Modern Warfare,* was intended to stimulate Catholic scholars —especially moral theologians—to work on the problem and to shake them from their apparent apathy. If the current production of articles on the subject by Catholic scholars in the U.S. is a valid basis for judgment, the volume clearly failed in its purpose. In fact, there has not been a serious, full-scale treatment of modern warfare by an American Catholic theologian since Father John C. Ford, S.J., published "The Morality of Obliteration Bombing" in *Theological Studies* in September, 1944—a full year before the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The publication last year of *War and the Christian Conscience* by Paul Ramsey, chairman of the Department of Religion at Princeton University, has proved to be the most significant work done by an American on the subject. The fact that Ramsey's study has not received the serious attention from the intelligent American reading public it deserves is yet another proof of the apathy of the American people of whatever re-

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ligious persuasion toward the moral questions of warfare. Books by other American Protestants include Robert W. Tucker's *The Just War—A Study in Contemporary American Doctrine* (1960), and Robert C. Batchelder's *The Irreversible Decision 1939-1950* (1961). Also published in 1961 was *God and the H-Bomb,* edited by Donald Keys, program director of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, with a foreword by Steve Allen.

Keys' collection of statements on nuclear warfare by religious leaders of all faiths serves as a useful reminder to the American people that a great many churchmen have expressed moral concern. But, ironically, many of the same statements also demonstrate that the present moral thinking of the churchmen is on a very superficial level.

THE MOST recent Protestant contribution is *Nuclear Weapons and the Conflict of Conscience,* comprising seven essays edited by John C. Bennett, Dean of the Faculty at Union Theological Seminary. The editor's own essay, "Moral Urgencies in the Nuclear Context," is the most significant article in this excellent symposium. Dean Bennett, surely one of the most gracious and kindly scholars in America, outdid himself when he contrasted Protestant to Catholic contributions on the moral problem of war. In his introduction, he writes that "since World War II, Roman Catholics have been involved in an intensive discussion" of the morality of warfare. He finds it significant that the one member of the Atomic Energy Commission who spoke most forcefully on the moral aspects of war was the late Thomas E. Murray, who, according to Bennett, "as a Catholic layman, reflected this discussion within his church."

Would that this were so. As a matter of fact, in the time that this writer served Mr. Murray as an assistant, this genuinely devout Christian gentleman and dedicated public servant was deeply frustrated and disturbed by the failure of Catholic churchmen and theologians to evidence much interest at all in the subject. Mr. Murray's personal efforts to encourage theologians to address themselves to the problem failed. Yet, fortunately, Catholics were indirectly responsible for at least some of the material in Dr. Bennett's book: the substance of his own essay and part of another essay in the volume were first written for last summer's Conference on Christian Ethics and Nuclear Warfare, co-

> It is a function and office proper to the Church that it should devote itself to peace. . . . The Church looks with favor on every initiative which can help to spare humanity new conflicts, new massacres, and incalculable new destruction.—Pope John XXIII, *Ad Petri Cathedram* (1959)

> After a nuclear explosion. . . . There will be no song of victory, only the inconsolable weeping of humanity, which in desolation will gaze upon the catastrophe brought on by its own folly.—Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message* (1955)

sponsored by Georgetown University and the Council on Religion and International Affairs.

One of the most striking features of Dr. Bennett's new volume is that it tries honestly to grapple with both horns of the dilemma—the moral problem of nuclear weapons *and* the demands in justice to stop the advance of Communism; this is especially apparent in Bennett's own essay. Unfortunately, most of the writing done today either on the moral evils of modern weaponry or on the moral evils of modern Communism tend to ignore the other horn of the dilemma.

Indeed, in the general public discussion of either issue, a dangerous polarization is apparent. The pacifists, as they speak—often with justification—against some of the West's defense policies, show a reluctance to discuss frankly the threat of world Communism. On the other hand, Dr. Bennett notes a "puzzled silence" on the part of Protestants who are not pacifists on the subject of morality and defense policy. This seems true also of Catholics. The people most concerned about the evils of Communism appear reluctant to raise any of the difficult questions about the morality of the means used to combat Communism.

For example, twice within the past year, this writer has heard the eminent Harvard political scientist and Department of State consultant, William Yandell Elliott, publicly express concern over the increasing number of pacifists and the increasing number of people in both Great Britain and the United States who advocate unilateral nuclear disarmament. But Elliott —who is cited here only as one of the most distinguished of the academic anti-Communists—has apparently resolved for himself the moral problems connected with the deterrent, massive retaliation, etc. At any rate, he refuses to discuss these problems publicly.

By contrast, the University of Pennsylvania's James E. Dougherty stands out as a rare example of a scholar who writes as a "hard anti-Communist"—and at the same time has the courage to raise publicly moral questions about our defense policy. (Had Father John Courtney Murray, S.J., continued to write on the moral problem of war, he could be used as another example of a writer who evidences a strong concern over both moral evils.) The term "hard anti-Communist" is not used here in any derogatory sense. It means simply those writers—Elliott, Dougherty, Strausz-Hupé are examples—who harbor no illusions about the moral, political and military threat of world Communism. If the level of public discussion on these issues—the most crucial public policy

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questions facing the citizenry of this republic—is to be raised, we need many more of our intellectual leaders to write and to speak with both horns of our terrible dilemma clearly in mind.

THE FAILURE of Catholic scholars to begin the kind of inter-disciplinary study on modern warfare that is so urgently needed can be explained, if not justified, on some fairly simple grounds that have more to do with that familiar old culprit, human pride, than with any profound psychological aberration. About four years ago I was the junior member of a small study group on morality and warfare. The participants came from three Catholic institutions of higher learning and included some very eminent scholars. The group met faithfully through the fall of 1958 and by January, 1959, was ready to make a proposal to one of the universities for an inter-disciplinary, inter-university study on the moral problems of modern warfare.

The project foundered, first, because of the disinterest of the university head to whom the proposal was made. He simply never answered the letter. Secondly, it was weakened by the very human question of which academician of which institution might reap the scholarly "reward" for the project. The project thus failed to materialize despite the good will and conscientious concern of the participants. The kind of heroic selflessness that such an inter-disciplinary, inter-university study requires is rare to find in any academic community, Catholic or otherwise. Some people hold that for such a full-scale study to be a success, it needs the active encouragement, not only of the Catholic academic community, but of the Catholic bishops as well.

Unlike Gordon C. Zahn, who pleads eloquently for our bishops to take a definite stand on the use of nuclear weapons, I am not eager to hear such pronouncements. I would be uneasy were the bishops to come together this month in Washington to issue a detailed statement on the morality of our defense policy—a statement comparable in importance, say, to their 1958 statement on segregation. Unlike the segregation statement, such a moral pronouncement would be premature and would not be based on an adequate moral analysis of what the theologians term the *quaestio facti*. Until the bishops or the theologians on whom they rely—or should rely—do their homework on this extremely complex question of public morality, I would not welcome any off-the-cuff moral pronouncement.

> Communism is intrinsically wrong, and no one who would save Christian civilization may collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever. Those who permit themselves to be deceived into lending their aid towards the triumph of Communism in their own country, will be the first to fall victims of their error. And the greater the antiquity and grandeur of the Christian civilization in the regions where Communism successfully penetrates, so much more devastating will be the hatred displayed by the Godless.—Pope Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris* (1937)

> For Our part, We will tirelessly endeavor to bring about, by means of international agreements—always recognizing the principle of legitimate self-defense—the effective proscription and banishment of atomic, biological and chemical warfare.—Pope Pius XII, Address in St. Peter's Square (1954)

Lest my remarks here be misinterpreted as either cynical or disrespectful, let me make my point quite clearly. Faced with a serious question of public morality, most bishops would obviously call upon moral theologians for advice. But in the United States this reliance provides no solution. Father Ford, perhaps the country's foremost moral theologian, has said that our moralists are neither well trained nor practiced in questions of public morality, although they are well trained in problems of confessional or private morality. Faced with this fact, one is likely to comment that it is high time our bishops encouraged the training of moral theologians who would be competent to advise them and to help us all to form correct consciences on war and on many other public issues. This is true: *it is* time the bishops encouraged the kinds of studies by moral theologians and others that would help us form correct consciences.

IN MAKING such criticisms, however, it is easy to fall into the same error as do those clerics who speak—oftentimes unconsciously—of the "Church" as though it consisted only of bishops and priests, thus ignoring the rest of the Mystical Body. As soon as a layman blames the clergy for some failure of the "Church," he is making the same mistake. Pius XII has reminded the laity that they also are the Church. Some of us become highly exercised over our "right" to speak freely in the church. But at other—less convenient—times, we tend to ignore Karl Rahner's admonition that it is not only our *right* but our *duty* to speak.

If the church in the United States is failing to make Christ present in the halls of Congress, and in the offices of the Pentagon, the White House and the State Department, it is not simply our bishops who are failing. In a very real sense all of us are to blame. On a public policy issue, the first expression of moral concern should be heard from laymen, not priests. The temporal order is *our* responsibility. If our bishops and theologians have not been persuaded of the urgency of bringing informed Christian consciences to bear on our defense and foreign policies, it is because we laymen have failed to persuade them.

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Of the Catholic laymen who are trained in one or the other of the complex disciplines that bear on the moral problems of modern weapons technology, how many have written to their bishops or to theologians offering their services toward the full-scale, inter-disciplinary study that would be needed before any valid moralizing could be done? How many lay Catholic professors have tried to persuade their department chairman or their deans of the necessity of doing the kinds of back-up studies needed for such moral evaluation? (Can they expect the administrators of our institutions of higher learning to start such studies if they receive no prodding from the scholars?) How many lay members of university boards of trustees have ever tried to convince university presidents that a Catholic school should show as much readiness to go into debt to finance the start of such a study as it does to build a highly mortgaged dormitory or science laboratory?

And, for the rest of us, how many of us have ever even tried to communicate with our bishops and our theologians? If we are disappointed in their failure to give us moral guidance with regard to warfare or anything else, have we made any effort to tell them? If Catholics in the U.S. have failed to reflect the Christ that is within us as our nation girds for war and strives for peace, can any of us say we do not share the blame?

The Great Danger

Conscience and the Modern Tyrant

EDWARD T. GARGAN

DESCRIBING the reigns of the ugliest of the Caesars—the "unrelenting Tiberius, the furious Caligula, the stupid Claudius, the profligate and cruel Nero, the beastly Vitellius, and the timid inhuman Domitian"—Edward Gibbon was led to ask whether such unremitting tyranny could ever again be imposed on men and nations. With the wisdom and civilized vision of the Enlightenment, Gibbon answered his own query with the conviction that the world would never again groan under such cruel tyranny.

"The division of Europe," Gibbon wrote, "into a number of independent states, connected, however, with each other, by the general resemblance of religion, language and manners, is productive of the most beneficial consequences to the liberty of mankind." Gibbon was further certain that the states of Europe sharing a common decency and conscience would not permit a monstrous tyrant to establish himself among the community of nations. "A modern tyrant," he insisted, "who should find no resistance either in his own breast or in his people, would soon experience a gentle restraint from the example of his equals, the dread of present censure, the advice of his allies, and the apprehension of his enemies."

Gibbon's beautiful faith in Europe's sense of liberty was crudely denied by Napoleon's reign. And in the aftermath of that tyrant there hung over Europe the knowledge that a fatal attraction for tyrants was accompanying its quest for a freer and more just society. By the middle of the nineteenth century none of its great prophets could share Gibbon's trust in Europe's hatred of tyranny. Kierkegaard, Tocqueville, Burckhardt, Nietzsche, Spengler and Kafka were one in their fear of that plebiscitarian dictatorship that awaited Europe and which promised to bring an end to its history. The tyranny of Hitler fulfilled these promises with the most dreadful accuracy. And since Hitler's terrible reign there has been for the man of conscience one historical problem—that of understanding the origin and establishment of his frightful power.

Unlike Gibbon, who died in 1784, our age knows that neither religion nor science, the arts nor letters were equal to the craft and secret appeal of the modern tyrant. We know that our statesmen lacked decisiveness and courage in confronting the rise of Hitler. Until 1939 only a small handful of Senators and Congressmen felt any obligation to speak of Hitler and his evil. When Hitler became Chancellor our liberal journals exercised great restraint as they were quick to express the hope that power would moderate his ambition and separate him from his barbarous associates. Our religious journals clung with unbelievable tenacity to the vision of Hitler and Mussolini as unpleasant but preferable to the prospect of Communist terror.

The free communities of the West did not prove equal to Gibbon's trust that a modern Caesar would be restrained by the advice, the censure, the hostility of his more free and humane neighbors. We are now burdened with an enormous responsibility to study more

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profoundly the phenomena of modern totalitarianism. And as we accumulate our academic volumes on this bitter subject we become increasingly aware that the vicious conquerors, the victims, and the witnesses share together a common dreadful failure. The further we penetrate the reality and the horror of the totalitarian system the more we discover the paradoxes in theology, in politics, in political judgment, and in ethics that join us inextricably with those who labored for and suffered under the dictators.

Our common participation in the failure of the Western world's humanistic and religious traditions to meet the totalitarian force is frightfully demonstrated in the studies by Mother Mary Gallin on *The German Resistance to Hitler: Ethical and Religious Factors* (Catholic University. $4.95.) and Gordon Zahn's *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars* (Sheed and Ward. $4.75.).

MOTHER GALLIN and Professor Zahn center their attention on the abiding, unshakable ethical positions held by Catholics in Germany. They seek to appraise the force of these traditions against the demonic strength of the dictator. Mother Gallin is especially concerned to trace the role of Catholic and Protestant moral teaching on the right to resist the tyrant in forming the conscience and motivation of those who joined the resistance to Hitler. Gordon Zahn seeks to discover the degree to which traditional Catholic teaching on the just war—and in particular the Catholic's obligation to refuse to fight in an unjust war—contributed to German Catholic and episcopal attitudes toward the wars of Nazi Germany. It is the sad and exhaustively documented finding of both studies that these ethical positions were not effective in enabling Catholics to meet either Hitler or the obligations of their consciences. Neither Mother Gallin nor Zahn desires to render a moral judgment against Catholic confrères who faced the Nazi machinery of terror. They do seek, as historian and sociologist, to understand within the framework of their disciplines how it was in the greatest crises of modern history that ethical traditions, commandments and leadership were alike rendered ineffective.

As historian, Mother Gallin, of the College of New Rochelle, examines with skill and a masterful command of the sources the struggles of conscience engaged in by the generals and civilians who finally joined the active resistance to Hitler. She admiringly describes the heroism of men such as General Ludwig Beck and that of the Mayor of Leipzig, Carl Goerdeler. She follows with particular care their efforts to gather men into the resistance and to bring themselves into agreement on their right to end Hitler's life. Unhesitatingly and courageously she reveals that the equivocal nature of the traditional religious teaching required the men of the resistance to fall back on other than religious and ethical sources of strength and courage. It is her conclusion that "the actual case study of the German resistance shows that religious belief was not the determining factor in the individual's decision to fight against Hitler." And she does not shrink from characterizing the attitudes of the German bishops as being helplessly afflicted by a "bewildering ambiguity."

Mother Gallin recreates the situation of the German Catholic who turned to his textbooks on moral theology, or to his confessor, for guidance in determining his conduct under the Third Reich. The man of troubled conscience was normally offered advice echoing that given to the slave in Christian antiquity. "It appears," she writes, "that the general sources from which a Catholic of the 1930's might have sought an answer to his problems were, at best, extremely confusing on this question of resistance. He would have discovered little which would have encouraged him to defend his rights against the tyrannical government, and almost nothing which would have justified tyrannicide."

The Jesuit Alfred Delp, one of the heroes of this book, joined the Kreisau circle as a consulting sociologist to their plans for the rebuilding of Germany. Father Delp accepted this assignment at the instruction of his provincial superior, Father Roesch. In time both Father Roesch and Father Delp were imprisoned, and Father Delp was hanged. Writing from prison in August 1944, Father Delp reported that following a savage beating the S.S. men returned him to his cell and left him with this taunt: "Well, you won't be able to sleep tonight. You will pray, but no Lord God nor any angel will come to deliver you. But we'll have a good night's sleep and tomorrow morning we'll start beating you up again with renewed energy."

IF DURING the beating of Father Delp his fellow religious had consulted the leading moral theologians, they would have found little help in preparing to counsel those who might desire to end the tyranny that consumed such a magnificent man and priest. An outstanding authority of this era is that of the Jesuit Fathers H. Nodlin and A. Schmitt. In their *Summa Theologiae Moralis, II, De Praeceptis Dei et Ecclesiae* the clear rule is stated: "For it is never licit to rebel even if a ruler abuses his power; and in an equal way it is never licit to kill the ruler even if his regime is excessively tyrannical; therefore, the Church has never approved rebellion and tyrannicide."

> We do not hesitate to declare, as We have in previous allocutions, that the sum total of these three precautions [renunciation of nuclear testing, the renunciation of nuclear weapons and the general control of armaments] is an obligation in conscience of nations and of their leaders.—Pope Pius XII, *Christmas Message* (1955)

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Schmitt and Nodlin are not among the theologians cited by Mother Gallin, although their authority supports her conclusions. Yet one is not really surprised by these texts, for the traditional sources of Thomas and Bellarmine offer much less than is usually promised on these hard questions. What is surprising, however, is Mother Gallin's report that the Provincial, Father Roesch, received without sympathy the news of the plot of July 20th directed against Hitler. Of this she writes, "But those who know him well say that even today he remains unconvinced that the attempted tyrannicide was morally justifiable and denies that he and Father Delp had any knowledge of it." Few men will ever equal the courage of Fathers Delp and Roesch. Their very heroism reminds us that the dictator was protected by the theological teaching of his era.

One must equally steel himself to accept the impact of Mother Gallin's evidence that the bishops of Germany virtually forbade their people to revolt. Quoting the annual pastoral letter of the Bishops at Fulda in August of 1935, she emphasizes their unflinching condemnation of the evil practices of the Nazi state. At the same time she notes an astonishing prohibition against even thoughts of disloyalty to that state. The bishops advised their people:

"You may not call down fire from heaven. Yes, you must forgive and pray for your enemy. 'Do not be overcome by evil,' or by wrath or desire of revenge! 'Overcome evil by good!' Catholics make no revolt and offer no violent resistance. That is so well known that from time immemorial such a one who would win an easy victory has fallen first on the Catholics. 'Set a watch on your mouth and let yourself not be drawn into rash talk'—Set a watch on your ears and hear not the wild rumors which are spread against civil authority and fear the sin of repeating such rumors. The eighth commandment forbids not merely lies and calumny. Thus, you will help to mitigate the rough tone which at present is struck in the public discussion. Moreover, that will be the best answer to all accusations, if the Catholics are distinguished by conscientiousness in their calling and by the spirit of sacrifice and are examples of Christian fatherhood and dutiful civil servants."

THE TRAGEDY and pain that haunt Mother Gallin's book are even more keenly felt by the reader of Professor Zahn's account of the support which the German bishops gave to Hitler's wars. As a sociologist, Zahn is careful to avoid the temptation to become a moralist. He stresses throughout his volume and in its sub-title that this is "a study in social control." The hierarchy is considered from the viewpoint of its contribution to the social controls that operated in shaping the German Catholic citizens' response to the demands of the Third Reich. One might study, in a similar fashion, the role of the leaders of the academic world and those in industry, or the influence exercised by the scientific community. In adopting his social control approach Zahn is using the methods prescribed by his discipline. His achievement, however, distinguishes his book from other efforts of this kind. His study is truly unique in the scholarship of the Church. In the past there have been studies of the disputes of theologians on grave issues. There have also been historical treatments of the performance of the bishops in the history of the Church.

> It needs still to be noted that the peace which the Church prays for cannot possibly be achieved if it is mistaken for a yielding or relaxation of its firmness in the face of ideologies and systems of life which are in open and irreconcilable opposition to Catholic teaching.—Pope John XXIII, *Ad Petri Cathedram* (1959)

Examinations like these have displayed remarkable objectivity in dealing with the episcopacy before the Reformation. We do not have, however, a literature on contemporary realities that equals in straightforwardness our historical scholarship. The candor of Professor Zahn's work is therefore at first unexpected and even disturbing. It is prudently thought best to wait a few centuries before one speaks openly of the paradoxes and human difficulties that beset those having the highest sacred offices. The cruelty and evil of modern totalitarianism demands, however, the absolute honesty of Professor Zahn's book. The integrity of his study makes it the most exciting work on the Church in our generation. Discussions of the problem of the just war will henceforth begin with this book.

We have long been accustomed to the cynical reminder of the non-believer that in every war Catholics on both sides fight with the simple assurance that God is exclusively on their side. Through the smoke of battle and bomb the cross has clearly been seen in the shadow of the opposing flags and guns. While the flags have been different the same cross has sustained enemies as they struggled to destroy one another. We find a thousand excuses for this scandal. We construct hundreds of human explanations. We admit privately, though hardly ever in public discussion, that the doctrine of the just war has played no role in modern history. We do not expect it to be significant. We soon weary of anyone who thinks that this question should remain constant and fixed uppermost in our conscience. Professor Zahn's book makes it impossible for any man concerned with the moral issues intrinsic to a civilized and Christian existence to ever again place the problem of the just war in the category of mysteries and unsolvable human predicaments.

Characterizing Hitler's wars as the "classical example"

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of the unjust war, Zahn develops overwhelming evidence that the German bishops in general supported these wars, that the truly great Von Galen, Faulhaber, and Conrad Gröber gave their positive moral weight to the wars, and that the Catholic Military Bishop made the Nazi war effort virtually a sacred service for the Catholic soldier. Zahn reverently retells the story of Von Galen's rejection of the Nazi crimes. He insists, however, that the Catholic citizen on hearing the Bishop's sermons "would obviously be led to conclude that the war was a just war and that he had a moral obligation to give it his every support."

We are reminded that before 1933, Michael Cardinal Faulhaber publicly expressed the view that modern war because of its destructiveness might lack permissible moral grounds. Yet in April of 1939, the *Bayrische Katholische Kirchenzeitung,* a paper under the Cardinal's jurisdiction, thanked Divine Providence that "the German *Volk* was again favored and the nation's leadership entrusted to a statesman who understood how to unite a power without historical parallel in his hands." And in this same year Archbishop Gröber was able to tell the soldiers of the Reich: "Should one or another of you lose his life, it becomes far more than the ordinary tribute demanded by Death the Conqueror in repayment of man's moral guilt. It is the ultimate offering to *Vaterland and Volk.*" The counsel of the Military Bishop is not only unbelievable—it is horrible. This bishop told his charges: ". . . through no fault of Germany's, the war continues. But now that our opponents have thrust back the Fuhrer's outstretched hands of peace, you at least know for certain what you are fighting for in this great struggle. At stake is all that is holiest, the most honorable, the dearest, and the most precious things on earth."

MOTHER GALLIN and Professor Zahn's books make it possible for this generation to share the sorrow and the agonizing cries that came from the concentration camps of Nazi Germany. We are given in their studies the strength of mind and heart to join in his cell that heroic man, Carl Friedrich Goerdeler, whose letters were recently made available in *Dying We Live.* We can now find the resources to hear Goerdeler who on the eve of his death cried out, "Is there a God who takes a part in the personal destiny of man? It becomes difficult for me to believe so, for this God has now for years permitted torrents of blood and suffering, mountains of horror and despair, to be visited upon mankind by a few hundred thousand bestialized, spiritually diseased, and deluded individuals—men in any case incapable of any normal human feelings." And we can now support his courageous resolution of this terrible question when he wrote, "Is it not possible that with our arbitrary nationalism we have affronted God and practiced idolatry? Yes, in that case the things that are happening would have meaning: God desires to root out thoroughly in all nations the propensity to harness Him to their national ambitions. If this be true, we can only beg God to let it suffice, and in the place of tears and death, to give ascendancy to the apostles of reconciliation who have recognized this sprit in God and this purpose in His judgments. For this I pray to Him."

> Thus the Communist world poses a twofold threat to peace: first, that of military aggression of which the more recent instances continue to exemplify both ruthlessness and perfidy; secondly, the widespread sowing of the seed of hatred within nations and among nations. To meet this constant threat to peace is the free world's greatest problem.—Statement of the American Bishops, Nov., 1959

With the aid of Zahn and Mother Gallin's volumes we are able to offer some belated help to Hans-Bernd von Haeften, another Christian victim of the Nazi executioners. In 1941, it is revealed in Annedore Leber's *Conscience in Revolt,* he begged of a friend, "This is the time to speak and to admonish. When the Christian peoples are beset by the madness of political demons, as they are today, the Church must be heard in public and must bear witness before the whole world. This is a part of the nature of the Church that it shall by its very existence influence the world."

The Catholic who is educated to appreciate the ordinary teaching that the Church is indifferent to *forms* of government, as long as they do not violate justice, may have some difficulty in responding to Hans-Bernd von Haeften's further judgment: "It is this fusion of time and eternity, of heaven and earth, that Augustine meant when he spoke of the *civitas Dei.* Catholicism has preserved this tradition more clearly but, in my own opinion, has drawn the wrong conclusions in developing Church doctrines which are to be binding for all time, in all social conditions, in every state and society; when in fact the putting into practice of the Christian faith in daily life must depend on secular institutions and the manner of doing so must vary with changing historical situations. Protestantism has a greater freedom of action and the theologians ought to be able to give an answer when laymen ask their advice on worldly matters."

Perhaps Catholic theologians are not as limited as this German diplomat sadly believed. But is the Catholic who supports the traditional neutral attitude to the form of the State able to be indifferent to the quality of liberty inherent in the various forms of political order? Are we—when committed to such indifference—able to stop our ears to the cries of Von Haeften, Goerdeler, Father Roesch, Father Delp and all the anonymous Christian victims who could not be indifferent to the horror that was Nazism?

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THE STAGE

News From the Side Streets

"THIS SIDE of Paradise" has two things in its favor: resourceful staging and the face of Paul Roebling. Together they don't come close to redeeming this earnest attempt by Sydney Sloane to dramatize Scott Fitzgerald's early novel. The staging is light, free and occasionally, as in a scene played on bicycles, sharply engaging; and Mr. Roebling, one of the handsomest young men it is possible to imagine, creates an almost painfully affecting physical portrait of the artist as a young Princetonian. But neither he nor the bicycles can make any headway against a script which is almost entirely rhetorical, a set of quotations, apothegms and adolescent twitterings whose flavor is perfectly conveyed by a line such as this one—"You are starting a magic-lantern show of life," or this—"Beauty means the scent of roses, and the death of roses." (*At the Sheridan Square Playhouse.*)

JEROME KILTY and Cavada Humphery made a good deal more of "Dear Liar" than I had expected they would. There seemed something deadly about a wish to put the Bernard Shaw-Mrs. Patrick Campbell correspondence on the stage, and indeed the offering never wholly escaped a funerary or taxidermic air. But the two performers, with Miss Humphrey a long and aristocratic neck ahead, are inventive and post-elocutionary, and they managed to sustain several lines—wry, elegaic, epigrammatic-erotic—which, if they did not amount to a drama in the ordinary sense, did involve us in a lesson in civilized and elegant relationship that was not at all hard to sit through. (*Closed at the Theater Marquee.*)

I DIDN'T see "The Golden Apple" during its original run eight years ago, but I can't find anything to quarrel with in the current revival's being acclaimed as a notable event, etc., what is notable being of course a notoriously relative affair. The John Latouche-Jerome Moross musical play—more nearly operetta—based on the Homeric epics and set in the American northwest at the turn of the century, does have more life, wit, charm and ardor, better songs and a closer approximation to any kind of fantasy-life we can recognize as our own than thirty-nine of the last forty Broadway superbombs. I could have wished, however, for a level of performance somewhat beyond the bright high-school, spring festival-of-the-performing-arts offering that this one constitutes, a remarkable exception being Swen Swenson's Hector, and perhaps some cotton with which to combat the extraordinary battering at the ears which these lusty young belters—Stan Page as Ulysses being the champion Stentor of them all—inflict upon an audience needing no pressure to show that it acknowledges and is grateful and digs the good scene. (*At the York Playhouse.*)

RICHARD GILMAN

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THE SCREEN

Free, White and American

ANYONE who thinks that American film makers are concerned only with sex and escapism (which may be the same thing) as themes for movies should hurry out to see "The Intruder" (Pathe America). Produced by Roger and Gene Corman and actually photographed in a Southern town, this is the first commercial movie to deal with school integration.

Its script, written by Charles Beaumont from his own novel, concerns the efforts of a stranger, a rabble-rouser, to stop any kind of integration. When the white townsfolk say the problem is settled, it's a law, the intruder, well versed in demogoguery and supposedly sent by the Patrick Henry Society, replies, "Whose law? This is a democracy." He knows how to stir up a mob by linking the NAACP, Jews, and commies. He knows how to push the Klan into riding again, how to foment race hatred, how to instigate violence when a decent-minded news-

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paper editor marches with the Negro students to the high school.

Although "The Intruder" gets too melodramatic at times, and its characters are too black and white (no pun intended), the film has considerable force. Roger Corman, who directed, has handled well his large cast, many of whom in small roles are citizens in the Missouri town that furnished the setting. In the title role, William Shatner is quite successful in switching from syrupy charm to hate-mongering; and the supporting players who fall under his spell or rebel against his leadership also come through with some conviction.

No doubt "The Intruder" would have been even more compelling if the title character and some of his bully boys hadn't been quite so psychopathic in their behavior and if the plot hadn't run off to a couple of side issues that have little relationship to the main theme. The script's use of the word "niggers" by both the white characters ("There are several niggers already in the school") and the colored ("You Negroes are going to cause some niggers to get killed") is rather startling; but needless to say, this adds to the realism. So does the well-photographed locale. And recent events around New Orleans make the subject matter as timely as today's paper—even though one hates to believe it could happen here and that any group of citizens would resort to the kind of cruelty and violence displayed in the film to keep their town "free, white, and American."

WHEN CRUELTY and violence are part of the action of a drama set in the wild west of some eighty years ago, one doesn't take them quite so seriously. Indeed, director John Ford allows Lee Marvin as Liberty Valance to overact so outrageously in "The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance" (Paramount) that this brutal gunman becomes almost silly. The script, written by James Warner Bellah and Willis Goldbeck from a story by Dorothy M. Johnson, intends the humor to be handled by Andy Devine, as the town marshal, and by Edmond O'Brien, as the newspaper editor, and their exaggerated histrionics are no doubt meant to be comedy relief in the otherwise earnest story.

But it is hard to believe that even director Ford was too serious in telling about a young lawyer who comes to a western territory with high ideals about law and order, gets pushed around by the villain, becomes a hero in a gun duel with this bully, and after fighting for statehood is elected to the U.S. Senate. Most of the film is told in a long flashback; and while James Stewart looks all right as the elderly statesman, he can no longer play the young lawyer he was in 1939 as "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington."

The point to "The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance" is that while Jimmy gets all the credit for the shooting and wins the girl (Vera Miles) and becomes a big shot in his state, it was really John Wayne who shot Liberty Valance and lost the girl and died as a nobody. But Jimmy and Vera know that John was a somebody. It takes Mr. Ford much too long to tell us so; and he wears us out in the telling.

AS BROOKLYN-born Eric Erickson, who became a Swedish citizen and then a spy for the Allies in World War II, William Holden also strains for ideals. After a British agent (Hugh Griffith) bullies Eric, an oilman who trades with Germany, into the spying job, Eric is rather lukewarm about the whole deal. But it is his German contact (beautifully played by beautiful Lilli Palmer) who arouses his patriotism and interest. Handsomely produced in color by William Perlberg, "The Counterfeit Traitor" (Paramount) has fine shots of Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin, Hamburg and places in between.

These backgrounds and the international cast with plenty of Swedes and Germans all directed by George Seaton (who also wrote the script) give the film an authentic air of war and intrigue. Although its plot stems from a true story, it has so many clichés and standard spy-and-intrigue situations that it sometimes seems like a trumped-up affair. But Perlberg and Seaton know how to keep us on the edge of our chairs; and Lilli and Bill are so engaging in their dangerous missions that even movie-goers who aren't espionage fans will be held by this engrossing exercise.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

Soldier: Unknown

A visit to Batalha

Under the stones of Portugal he
lies in unsuspected sleep. Lamp burns,
soldier without moving an eye guards
this portion of inheritance.
Near—
by, Henry the Navigator rests
with more familiar carving, Garter
in stone (*honi soit qui* . . . English bones
are here) partly destroyed by vandals.

Girls on pilgrimage chant the anthem
for their unknown, shouting three vivas
at the end. We stand in awe of im-
mensity in Batalha, and past
stones become present wonder, arching
into upper distance, cool splendor
spent on God no one could crush or send
far away. Christ carved from split wood hangs
above in medieval agony
(feet and half a shin were battle vic-
tims long ago) and only He knows
for whom death ended when life began.

DAVID A. LOCHER

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On the Voyage to Eternity

Ship of Fools. By Katherine Anne Porter. Atlantic-Little, Brown. $6.50.

by James Finn

MISS PORTER'S accomplishment has finally and fortunately and irrevocably destroyed her promise. That promise, of course, was to be the author of the greatest novel never written. She has chosen instead to follow the modern axiom of "less is more," for her novel is assuredly less than the greatest novel and just as assuredly more than the high promise so long extended. It is in fact, and however grim it may sound to say so, a thing to reckon with.

Years ago Miss Porter revealed herself to be a graceful and commanding writer with a sure control of shorter fiction. With *Ship of Fools* she shows that she has almost as absolute control of the novel. No useful criticism could concern itself principally with whether she accomplishes what she intends. That much is beyond reasonable dispute. It is the nature of her accomplishment that poses the crucial question, and a very hard question it is.

We are informed in a brief foreword that Miss Porter early found her title in a fifteenth-century moral allegory. "When I began thinking about my novel, I took for my own this simple almost universal image of the ship of this world on its voyage to eternity." She has clearly cast her net wide, for—in spite of the exclusiveness suggested by her added portentous comment "I am a passenger on that ship"—we are all fellow passengers on the voyage. Whether we recognize our counterparts on the North German Lloyd ship *Vera*, about which we read, is another matter and a part of the crucial question.

The *Vera*, a mixed freighter and passenger ship, travels between Veracruz, Mexico and Bremerhaven, Germany between August 22 and September 17, 1931. Aboard are over a dozen Germans, a Swiss family, a Spanish dance company and a Contessa, Cubans, Mexicans, a Swede, and a few Americans. And 876 Spanish men, women and children in steerage. Before we are well acquainted with these characters we are given a quick assessment of them and gain some idea of the angle of vision of the author.

Thin, coquettish Lizzi Spockenkieker screams "like a peahen" at her "pink and pig-snouted companion," Herr Rieber. The Huttens' little boy is dressed like a "monkey," Jenny Brown is "a mule, perhaps" while her companion David Scott appears to be a "willful cold-blooded horse." The Spanish girls, like a "flock of quarreling birds," are accompanied by "wasp-waisted young men." Lest we might think that these and other representatives of the animal kingdom might get along in some odd fashion, we have already been presented with a screeching, yelping encounter between a parrot, monkey, dog and cat. It is a true presentiment of events which are to take place aboard ship.

The brief voyage is filled with incident. There is time for lust and love and sudden little friendships that die sudden little deaths; time for dispiriting discoveries about oneself as well as about others; time for amused conversation about euthanasia and genocide, and solemn conversation about the "ruling class of the ruling race of the world"; time to show damage wrought by devotion to nationalism, to Ideas, to the "wonderful private life," to the average sensual life. With confident and certain skill Miss Porter explores the social relations which develop among many people who differ in nationality, religion, class, age, profession and intelligence. With the same authority she guides us through the dark and matted undergrowth of human motives and emotions, which, in essential respects it is suggested, vary only slightly from person to person. The judgment is harsh and inescapable: all people are foolish, and some are more foolish than others.

There are, of course, more German passengers than any others on this German ship in the year 193[illegible] and because of this, possibly, the judgment on them is particularly mordant. For example, after announcing to his guests at table that given his choice he would not allow Jews on ship, even in steerage, the Captain "closed his eyes, opened his mouth, turned the point of his large spoon spilling over the thick pea soup and fried crusts towards him plunged it deeply into his mouth clamped his lips over it and drew the spoon out empty, chewed once gulped, and instantly set about repeating the performance. The others except Dr. Schumann, who drank his broth from a cup, leaned over their plates also, and there was silence for a time except for gurgling, lapping noises while everybody waded into the soup, and stillness except for the irregular rhythm of heads dipping and rising. The ring was closed solidly against all undesirables, ally as well as enemy."

Dr. Schumann, whom we have recognized as one of the less foolish, is slightly above and apart from this communion, but poor, timid, sentimental Frau Schmitt is caught up in the ritual. "Her heart expanded, and swam easily on the warm wave of blood kinship with her great and glorious race, even though she might be its smallest, its least considerable member." The foolish and the dangerous are closely allied.

After we make our slight reservations—the oscillation of emotion between Jenny angel and David darling does become tiring; to say of all the godly attending Sunday Mass that "only six women were in a state of grace" is to assume omniscience extravagantly; the psychologizing is occasionally simplistic—after this, we must acknowledge that Miss Porter has fashioned an expert study of man as an irrational animal who is given to rationalizations. What she presents is persuasive and indisputable. Without neglecting the rich and gritty surface of daily existence, she has pierced beneath that surface to expose the horror and the boredom.

But there is scarcely a glimmer of glory, and a final reckoning must say

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hat she is mistress of the partial ision. It might be well to postpone final reckoning by a few years, owever, to appreciate first the ac-omplishment that is hers. For she as refused the contemporary invi-ation to build out of critical insight nd modish despair a platform for he yea-sayer. She has been true to er harsh, clear vision and has com-nunicated it with high imaginative ntensity. In a confused and flaccid ime, the integrity of such an accom-lishment is valuable.

A Grand Sweep

The Church and the Gospel. By ean Guitton. Regnery. $6.50.

by H. A. Reinhold

THE FRENCH existentialist and Catholic Jean Guitton here rethinks he age-old problem of the identity of primitive and simple Christianity vith the result of 1900 years of his-orical development. Would Peter ecognize John XXIII as his succes-or if he watched him being borne loft on his Sedia Gestatoria, ac-laimed by a huge crowd of so-alled pilgrims? Is the grown tree dentical with the little mustard seed of the early Christian community?

It is clear that Jean Guitton re-gards his book as a contribution to he present ecumenical dialogue. If I say that it is impossible to give a satisfactory account of his loosely woven web of reasoning with its vague and casual treatment of some of the most weighty problems, I am sure that M. Guitton will not mind he use of these adjectives, because all through the book one has the feeling that that is his method of dealing with the subject. He simply does not want to give us the same kind of thing we have been getting from Aristotelian theologians.

An instance of this looser argu-mentation is his method of reducing the development of papal primacy to a historical growth in which the providential setting of Rome is as important as Matthew Sixteen. He argues strongly that the present cen-tralization of all power in the person of Christ's Vicar is something grown beyond plan and foresight, and that it does not touch the essence of the Church as Christ's presence in His Mystical Body. It seems that in this he is trying to condition his readers to a loosening of the dogmatic ar-mor of post-Tridentine and Counter-Reformation theology. How far this is a legitimate position and a de-parture of the philosopher from his proper field is not for me to say; but I wish him luck and a sympathetic hearing, for he shows a great and charitable heart behind a fertile mind and great erudition.

M. Guitton has a disarming way of appealing to authorities for his reasoning. He says on several occa-sions that a grave problem exists in a certain field and that he has given serious consideration to it and come to such and such a conclusion, one that may be either original Guitton or something theology and apolo-getics have long since answered in an authoritative way. This strikes me as novel and refreshing. But is it acceptable to the professional di-vine? M. Guitton seems to follow the Eastern tradition of writers like Khomiakov and Berdyaev, but one thing is clear: he raises the bliss and sanctity of the Church to heights that not even the saints saw real-ized, making her almost assume an image of post-eschatological beauty and leaving the struggling and dusty pilgrim we see far behind. I don't really know that such a rosy picture of the visible Church will help in ecumenical dialogues. Even Karl Adam had to listen to a Protestant—I think it was Karl Heim—say that if the Church were what Adam pre-sented her to be in his writing, his friend would join her at once.

Guitton's procedure starts with the primitive Church, which he calls the Origin, then moves to the emergent organized Church of the pre-Con-stantine body (which according to him produced the post-apostolic episcopate and the New Testament), and finally into the world-church united to the Empire in a pact which lasted until the two great revolutions in France and Russia, when a new stripped and poor Church rises before men's eyes. Now she has to meet the new Caesars and may have to travel lightly, when even the establishment of the Vati-

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can will have become a hindrance. . . .

Jean Guitton the philosopher is hardly in his medium when he deals with the subject-matter of the historian, and he therefore leaves many questions unanswered, after merely touching on them. He accepts the present Church as an outcome of her development into a World Church of cosmic proportions. Yet it is a pity that he treats the development of the Rites of Salvation as part of the broader development of power and religious Truth with so little insight into the present correction of mis-emphases which were caused by controversy.

It is hard to get used to an author of Guitton's stature using "explanations" of the Mass long discarded by theologians and responsible liturgists for their sheer ineptitude and lack of insight into the mystery. And yet the grandiose sweep of his thought and his original approach give his book great significance in the present situation. The very fact that Guitton examines the claims on both sides is new on the American scene and it is most fortunate that he stakes his great reputation as a philosopher on this cause. If I have appeared to be critical of his method and his equipment, I nevertheless feel that his book is important and deserves discussion on both sides of the tragic separation. It is a carefully built construct of a great mind, one that appears able to bear the weight of a great scholar's creed. That he ranges occasionally into territory beyond philosophy and assumes the guise of a historian is not unforgivable.

The Lotus Kick

Down There on a Visit. By Christopher Isherwood. Simon and Schuster. $4.75.

by William James Smith

IT WAS Ernest Hemingway, I believe, who first put forward—and rejected—the notion that all homosexuals are terribly amusing. The idea in any event is definitively laid to rest in Mr. Isherwood's latest novel. These boys don't even amuse each other, the characters in Mr. Isherwood's novel, that is.

"Novel" I say because it is so described on the dust jacket—though it bears no formal resemblance to one, being rather a collection of four stories. And as to its being fiction rather than memoir, one is disturbed, as previously in Isherwood's books, by a central character named Christopher Isherwood, the circumstances of whose life seem to run in close parallel to those of Christopher Isherwood the writer. That problem is easily solved, however, by referring to the character *in* the novel as Herr Issyvoo, a name by which he is sometimes affectionately known.

Herr Issyvoo, to get into the novel, is a proper young Englishman (i.e., hates England and the English), who takes off for Berlin in the 1920's, having learned that it is the new Sodom. Here he has a lovely time till Hitler comes along and busts it all up. Fortunately Herr Issyvoo has an infinite capacity for regarding the stupidities of the non-English as cute and their contempt as socially irrelevant. This serves him in good stead at his next stop—the isles of Greece, before they became fashionable. The attraction here is Ambrose, a well-heeled alcoholic young Englishman who has a penchant for being beaten up by members of the lower orders. A few months later, and several years older, Herr Issyvoo pulls out of *that* camp—and not a moment too soon, I would guess. From where I was standing it looked like the sheriff was just around the bend.

Finally Herr Issyvoo ends up in the calm and sanity of southern California, palm trees and Yoga and wonderful war-time parties you could get rolling by driving your convertible down to Hollywood and Vine and yelling "Get in!" This last story in the book is devoted to Paul.

Paul is an American, one of those amoral little spongers who have made Herr Issyvoo's life so rich and exciting. Paul is a real pro. He takes Herr Issyvoo for ten thousand bucks by playing along with Issyvoo's Yoga bit. Herr Issyvoo is deeply touched by the poor boy's beauty and vulgarity and teaches him to meditate. Paul moves in, meditates, redoes the kitchen in some really fabulous Russian Ballet colors, whips up some really fabulous vegetarian meals, and then goes and ruins everything by seducing the twelve-year-old daughter of one of their fellow-cultists. Well, nothing that perfect could last forever, I suppose.

Paul is not quite finished. He returns to a life of sin, makes a great hit in a conscientious objectors' labor battalion, and finally ends up in Paris on a really *chic* kick—nothing crass like heroin or morphine—but opium! I guess Paul *is* one of those terribly amusing ones.

And, to come right down to it, Herr Issyvoo is terribly amusing, too. I find it hard to believe that he regards himself as anything more than terribly amusing, though he does occasionally take on that embarrassing air of the cocktail lounge drunk who determines to show you that he is a serious person and has given a great deal of thought to God and civil liberties and stuff like that. But we all have our vanities. *Down There on a Visit* does have its message after all: a lifetime spent in the company of effeminate bores and professional brutes is apt to end up in California in the lotus position. But it takes a heap o' meditatin' to cast off all those karma hindrances.

Psyche and Soul

Psychoanalysis and Religion. By Gregory Zilboorg. Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy. $4.50.

by Francis J. Braceland

AMONG the numerous conflicts in which psychoanalysis engaged in its short 70-year history none was more bitter than the quarrel with religion. This one began early, almost as soon as the first analytic works were published, since the lonely genius who was the discoverer of psychoanalysis was openly hostile to religion and the content and overtones of his pronouncements were soon seen by religious men as challenges and serious threats to their faith. Gregory Zilboorg (1890-1959), the author of the essays collected in this volume, was witness to this quarrel and was destined to spend the last several decades of his life explaining the

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beliefs of one group to the other in an effort to effect some form of rapproachment between them.

Zilboorg was one of American psychiatry's most colorful figures. Born in Kiev, Russia, of Orthodox Jewish parents, he had an almost fictional career, with service in the Czar's Army, a post in Kerensky's Labor Government, and a final flight from Russia in the wake of the Bolshevik revolution. He supported himself in the U.S. by translating plays while he studied medicine, psychiatry and psychoanalysis. He was a good clinician, a fine historian, a brilliant writer and a man of many other parts.

Zilboorg was one of the first to recognize that it was the body of empirical facts and the accompanying working hypothesis that should be recognized as psychoanalysis. "There is no such philosophy as psychoanalysis," he said, adding that "Facts stand no matter how much one may insist that they do not exist, and faith stands in the mind of man no matter how many people may choose to reject it."

A chapter entitled "Psyche, Soul and Religion," in his book *Mind, Medicine and Man* was an inspired résumé of his thoughts on these subjects up until 1943, and it was this essay which was to call him to the attention of a number of clergymen, some of whom remained his friends for life. In this essay he tried to show how little psychoanalysis as an observational discipline really encroaches upon religious philosophy and how it even lends empirical support to some religious precepts as he understood them. He did not venture further at that time, but the journey he was on was to lead him eventually to Catholicism and he died, "a good Roman Catholic and a good psychoanalyst."

Zilboorg reiterated constantly that the psychic apparatus, or the psyche, was not the soul, but rather "the instrument of the soul as much as our neuromuscular system is the instrument of our sensory motor system." To dismiss analysis without further examination because it seems to be in conflict with the postulate of free will, he said, "means to disregard the fact that psychoanalysis is not a philosophy nor has it ever discussed the question of free will. Psychological determinism can be as acceptable as physico-chemical determinism if we do not forget that the adjective psychological is used in the sense of the functioning of the psychic apparatus and not in the sense of spiritual, pertaining to the soul." Later he was also to indicate that the opposite of psychological determinism is not free will—it is indeterminism or psychological chaos.

After the publication of Freud's *Future of an Illusion* the battle lines were drawn. On one side were the analysts who felt that the acceptance of Freud's clinical findings and his method of treating neuroses imposed on them the necessity to accept his personal philosophy as well. On the other side were those who felt that since they found it necessary to reject Freud's psycho-philosophical excursions into the field of religion, they also had to reject everything that Freud had discovered about the human mind, the power of the unconscious, and so forth.

Things are much better between religion and psychiatry now, however, and although all is not yet serene definite advances have been made. Gregory Zilboorg's contribution to this effort was a major one and the various essays in this volume follow his participation step-by-step.

The book includes pieces on Freud himself, on "Love in Freudian Psychoanalysis," on guilt, asceticism, and the moral sphere of psychiatry, and, of course, on the direct relations between faith and psychotherapy. The work is quite well done—the best this reviewer has seen on the subject. It has been edited and assembled skillfully and it warrants a high recommendation.

REVIEWERS

James Finn, formerly an associate editor of The Commonweal, is now the editor of *Worldview*.

Father H. A. Reinhold is a long-time contributor. His most recent book is *The Dynamics of Liturgy*.

William James Smith, a free-lance writer and critic, is a frequent contributor.

Dr. Francis J. Braceland is Psychiatrist-in-Chief at The Institute of Living, Hartford, Conn., and the recipient of the University of Notre Dame's Laetare Medal for 1962.

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